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PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

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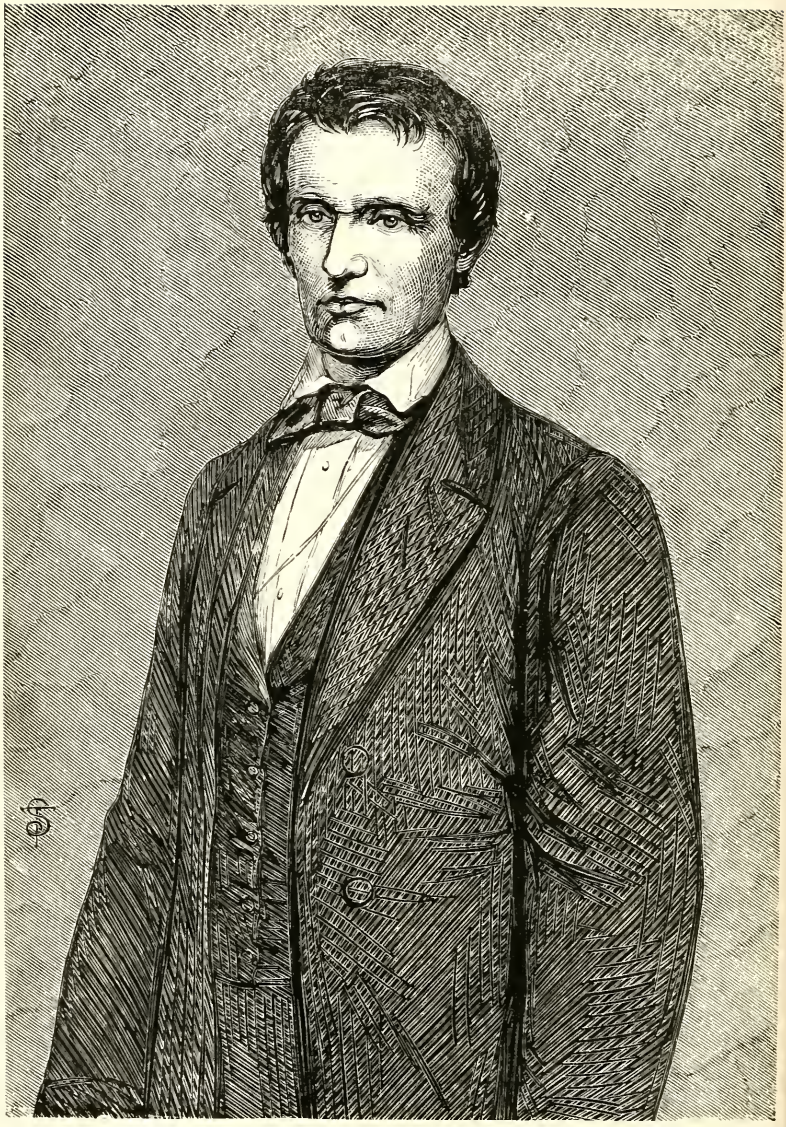

Yours truly
A. Lincoln

A MEMOIR

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

President Elect

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

HIS OPINION ON SECESSION,
EXTRACTS FROM THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, &c.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH ON SLAVERY,
REPRINTED BY PERMISSION FROM "THE TIMES."

LONDON:
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RECENT events have drawn more closely the ties which naturally unite this side of the Atlantic to the other: Europeans are beginning to examine with more interest than heretofore the progress of American affairs; and it is considered, therefore, that no apology is needed for offering to the public, in it is believed a readable form, a short sketch of that man's career who takes command of the American State-ship upon the eve of what threatens to be the blackest weather she has yet encountered.

R. B.

London, Jan. 9, 1861.

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Not many days will elapse from the printing of these pages ere the sun will rise on a new president. James Buchanan will have retired from power, and Abraham Lincoln will reign in his stead. Already, for every biographical purpose, he is the actual president: already he has become the cynosure; already the eyes of men are fixed on him. And in his person is presented for the admiration of civilized nations a spectacle, the simple grandeur of which is far more impressive to the thoughtful mind than all the pomp and pageantry of emperor and king. The empire which has been committed by the popular suffrage of a free people to this new

potentate is one which any king might covet, which any emperor might desire. Thirty millions of high-spirited men and a fifteenth part of the habitable globe—this is the dominion of the American President, the dominion of Abraham Lincoln. Not by birth, not by the sword, not by the influence of wealth, not by intrigue, not by the clamour of the mob, not even by remarkable superiority of talent, of eloquence, or of learning, but by untiring energy, by unswerving integrity, by uncompromising courage, by kindness of heart, by genial humour, by strong common sense, by respectable talent, and by moderate eloquence, has Abraham Lincoln commended himself to his countrymen and won himself a place amongst the princes of the earth. The very sobriquets by which he is distinguished bear witness that this is truth. "Old Uncle Abe" may smack to cis-Atlantic taste of vulgar familiarity; "honest old Abe" may raise a smile with those to whom an honest man is not God's noblest work; but the former is a proof of affection for one who has bowed the hearts of the people, and the latter has a genuine ring, how different from, yet how superior to the hollow sound that accompanies the

titles of most religious kings! Not that Englishmen are discontented; not that Englishmen are jealous of their trans-Atlantic kinsmen; they would not exchange their hereditary monarchy for quadrennial presidencies: they have at their head, thank God, a gracious lady whom republicans and presidents delight to honour; but they have had Charleses and they have had Georges, and with the memory of those worthies clinging to them still, they congratulate the people who have for ruler at least an honest man. Honesty is, it is true, old-fashioned: but fashions, as with hoops so with virtues, occasionally repeat themselves, and are the more honoured for their long absence.

Italy has lately seen an honest conqueror: Fabricius and Curius have had a worthy descendant: and, in a spirit not unworthy of the stern Old Pilgrim Fathers, America has chosen for her ruler a simple, honest working-man. Ay, a working-man: those hands, to which has been intrusted the most delicate of tasks, the management with firm but gentle skill of the reins which guide a sensitive people, are rough with manual labour; that man, who now must master the subtlest arts of

diplomacy, who must deal with adepts in courtier-ship, who must fence with and foil professors of flattery and professors of intrigue, educated to their professions from their youth up, in early life *split rails for a subsistence,* or *tended his father's oxen,* or worked his way as a *flat-boatman* down the mighty Mississippi. And this man has now become in all but name a king! Who has not read, with a sigh of regret, perhaps, that such days were over, how in the heroic days of ancient Rome the man whose frugality and whose integrity had won him renown amongst his countrymen, was summoned more than once from his tiny farm of four jugers to the honourable but perilous duty of providing *ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet?* But the Roman had what Lincoln lacks; for the Quinctian *gens* was patrician. "Honest Abe," recommended almost solely by his integrity, has been called by a majority of his countrymen to provide *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat.* And though the Roman Dictator and the American President cannot in their general office be fitly compared, and though there was in the old Roman formula a meaning which is happily inapplicable in ordi-

nary cases to the election of an American President, yet such is the present crisis of American affairs, that Mr. Lincoln assumes his administration at a juncture when that formula may, in a peculiarly appropriate manner, he applied to the first duty which will fall to his lot. He will indeed have to take care *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*—that the Union suffer no dismemberment. That breach, which has more than once been held out as a menace by the fiery South, which has already been loudly advocated, and in some parts of the Union has been even commenced, may have been completely effected before these pages are finished, before Mr. Lincoln takes his place at the helm of government. If it be so, which Heaven forfend, to heal that breach will be the first of his duties; to heal that breach at every risk and at every sacrifice but of honour and of principle: these are more precious than Union itself; these "Honest Abe" cannot throw over and preserve his name; let the hot-blooded Southerns bluster as they will,

Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
. . . .
Mente quatit solidâ:

and should it be the destiny of Mr. Lincoln, which we trust it will not be, to witness the breaking up of the grandest confederation whereof the world holds record, and to see the noble fabric of American Union, cemented by the blood of those patriots and heroes whose souls were knit as the soul of one man, dashed to pieces above his head, if there be truth in the estimate men have formed of his character, *Impavidum ferient ruinæ.*

But though *he* may be unshaken, that will be an evil day, not only for the United States, but for the mother-country herself, which first shall dawn upon a general secession: when the Carolinas and Georgia, and Louisiana, and Alabama, when the whole South, in sulky defiance, shall withdraw from the Union and refuse to the North the right hand of brotherhood; when the slave and his oppressor shall be left to reckon together; when the cotton trade shall languish and the southern ports be blockaded by a fleet from the North. For it cannot be but that secession must be followed by war. Then the wailing which is heard from the cotton-fields will find a sad response in the factories of Lancashire; the coloured bondman and

the white freeman will be whelmed in a common ruin; and the cry of famine from the plantation huts will be echoed in the streets of Manchester. From calamities such as these, "honest" Lincoln must deliver us; and to that end may there be vouchsafed to him the spirit of wisdom from on high.

But if, as the friends of freedom hope, secession is but an empty threat, thrown out in the bitterness of defeat and the pettishness of anger; if even South Carolina will reconsider her decision, mark once more with white the glorious fourth of July, and once more give her President the benefit of her orisons; if the dreaded disunion, which the prophetic soul of Jefferson foresaw would one day come, is not to be fulfilled in our time, Mr. Lincoln has still a prospect before him which might ruffle for a moment even the serenity of a Washington. Mr. Lincoln has to outride a political storm; he has a knot to untie, or if necessary to cut, to which Gordius' was but a ladies' bow: let us see how his antecedents have prepared him for his mission.

NOTE.—The opinion of a gentleman from North Carolina, as to the dependence of South upon North, is at the present crisis well worth reading. Mr. Helper writes: "It is a fact well known to every intelligent statesman, that we are compelled to go to the North for almost every article of utility and adornment, from matches, shoe-pegs, and paintings up to cotton-mills, steamships, and statuary; that we have no foreign trade, no princely merchants, nor respectable artists; . . . that owing to the absence of a proper system of business amongst us, the North becomes, in one way or another, the proprietor and dispenser of all our floating wealth, and that we are dependent on Northern capitalists for the means necessary to build our railroads, canals, and other public improvements; that if we want to visit a foreign country, even though it may lie directly South of us, we find no convenient way of getting there, except by taking passage through a Northern port; . . . we want Bibles, brooms, brackets, and books, and we go to the North; we want pens, ink, paper, wafers, and envelopes, and we go to the North; we want furniture, crockery, glass-ware, and pianos, and we go to the North; we want toys, primers, school-books, fashionable apparel, machinery, medicine, tombstones, and a thousand other things, and we go to the North for all. . . . In infancy we are swaddled in Northern muslin; in childhood we are humoured with Northern gew-gaws; in youth we are instructed out of Northern books; at the age of maturity we sow our 'wild oats' upon Northern soil; in middle life we exhaust our wealth, energies, and talents in the dishonourable vocation of entailing our dependence upon our children and our children's children . . .; in the decline of life we remedy our eyesight with Northern spectacles; in old age we are

drugged with Northern physic: and finally, . . . shrouded in Northern cambric, are . . . borne to the grave in a Northern carriage, entombed with a Northern spade, and memorized with a Northern slab!" These are the words of a non-slave-holding white of the South, who advocates immediate abolition of slavery as the true policy of the South: and notwithstanding his strange mixture of pious ejaculation, slang, and tautology, when he says "so help us God, sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, we are determined to exercise" the right of expressing an opinion on any subject "that affects the public good," one is inclined to believe that he is sincere, and that if there are, as he leads one to suppose, many thousands of Southerns of his own kidney, a general secession cannot last for long. One cannot help thinking, however, that a gentleman who can talk flippantly of the negroes being "delighted with an opportunity to cut their masters' throats," and can so far forget the prior claims of the Church of Rome as to call slavery the "Mother of Harlots," should not be angry if his statements are taken with more than one grain of salt.

CHAPTER II.

PARENTAGE AND EARLY YEARS.

It was in 1769 that Daniel Boone, with five bold comrades, made a thorough exploration of the Kentucky valley: then burst upon their astonished sight a vision as glorious as that which greeted the spies of the Promised Land. If they saw not a land flowing with milk and honey, they found forests and rivers and immeasurable hunting-grounds; the verdure was deeper, the scenery was grander, the soil was richer than any heretofore; and if there were no sons of Anakim to quicken their pulses and try their nerves, they encountered a no less dangerous enemy in the prowling, stealthy, treacherous Indian. But neither Anakim nor Indian can stop the march of the Anglo-Saxon; his destiny pricks him forward. Daniel Boone was Anglo-Saxon. Soon, then, there came news of the

pioneer hero; his discoveries and his adventures were known throughout Virginia, and forthwith men thronged across the Alleghanies. Amongst them journeyed westward from Rockingham, Virginia, a certain Abraham Lincoln, about the year 1780. The Lincolns, if tradition may be trusted, were of English origin, had originally settled in Berks county, Pennsylvania, and had professed the religious faith of the honoured sect of Quakers. Howbeit, there was in Massachusetts another branch of Lincolns, to which belonged that Colonel Benjamin Lincoln, who won for himself revolutionary fame; and some authorities will have it that both branches are derived from a common stock. Whether it be so or not may interest none but the professor of pedigrees; still, it is curious to remark how the same tendency towards Scriptural names—a tendency as likely to be evinced by the Puritan as by the Quaker, and by the Quaker as the Puritan—prevails in either branch; the Abrahams, Thomases, and Josiahs of Pennsylvania pairing off with the Benjamins, Levis, and Ezras of Massachusetts. However, one thing is beyond doubt, and this is, that in or about 1780,

as already stated, an Abraham Lincoln moved westward across the Alleghanies, from the valley of the Shenandoah to Kentucky. He took with him his wife, three sons, and two daughters; but brief was his sojourn in the land of his choice. Frontier life was full of peril, and every man carried his life in his hand. And so it fell out that as Lincoln was at work, the red-skins came upon him suddenly, and an Indian bullet made his wife a widow and his children fatherless. This was in 1784. The youngest of the orphans, Thomas by name, was now but six years old, and scanty indeed is the information we can gather about his tender years and his early trials; but we can learn enough to make us sure that his bed was not strewn with roses; he grew up, doubtless, as other frontier lads, though he tasted a little more hardship; but his form was taller, his frame more stalwart, his constitution more rugged, his heart still warmer, his humour more genial, and his language quainter in proportion as his early advantages had been smaller than those of his brother-Kentuckians. At twenty-eight years of age, that is, in 1806, Thomas took to wife Miss

Hanks, a native of Virginia, and settled in what was then Hardin but now Larue county, Kentucky. Here, in due time, natural effects followed natural causes, and on the twelfth of February, 1809, was born Abraham Lincoln, who was one day to be called, by the grace of God and the voice of the people, to the Presidency of the United States. Before this event a daughter had been given to the Lincolns in 1807, and after it, in 1811, a little son was added to the family. He was well loved of heaven, if there be truth in an ancient saying, for he bloomed but a little while on earth and passed away in infancy. Nor did the daughter attain the full number of the years of natural life: she was spared, it is true, to be a brave man's wife, but his days were embittered by her early death. Abraham, however, had a work to do, and his life was to be prolonged till that work should be accomplished; he was to show the world how an upright man may cleave his way from the lowest grade of frontier life to the highest elevation his country can offer: he was to be in his own person a proof that, if the soldier of the old French empire could boast with truth that he carried in

his knapsack the bâton of a marshal, with equal truth can the peaceful citizen of America boast that he has within his grasp the Presidential chair. Perhaps he was to be in the hands of Providence the chosen instrument of Anti-Slavery extension, and the pioneer of Abolition—not sudden but gradual; peradventure he was to wipe off the hideous stain which dims the glory of the stars and stripes; he was to prove to the South, not by force and bluster, but by logic and conciliation, that free labour is more productive than slave; and was to inaugurate an era in American history, when the North and the South laid aside their only cause of enmity, whilst smiling Europe clapped her hands for joy.

Abraham Lincoln's Kentucky life comprises a period of little more than seven years. During a part of the last year he, with his sister, attended the schools of Zachariah Riney and Caleb Hazel, and imbibed such rudimental learning as children at that early age are capable of acquiring. In after times he also received instruction from a Mr. A. W. D'Orsey, who is still living in Schuyler county, Illinois; but he is said to have himself

asserted that all the time during which he was under the ferule would not in the aggregate amount to twelve months; beyond this his only teachers have been himself and his experience. And experience is an excellent dame; scolds sometimes, but never flags, never naps, never loses her temper.

Now, towards the autumn of 1816, trouble came upon Thomas Lincoln; he was poor and owned no negroes, so that he could not keep pace with the rich and the slave-owner: moreover the right by which he held his land was sadly insecure. So he said to his household, "Let us arise and leave this place, and strike through the country north-westward; we will make our way to the heart of the primeval forest, and build us a home where hitherto the axe has never rung." And thus it was that he came with his wife and his daughter and his son Abraham, leaving the little grave at Nolin's Creek, crossed the Ohio, and settled in Indiana, in the region which is now called Spencer county. Indiana was at this time a territory; but a few months after the arrival of the Lincolns, in December, 1816, it became, by act of Congress, a

sovereign state. And now began in earnest the chequered life of Abraham Lincoln; he was yet scarce eight years old when his little hands grew rough with labour and his little heart was acquainted with grief. He was too young for sorrow when he lost his brother, but in 1818 his mother was taken away; and the blow fell heavily upon him. His father, however, married not long afterwards Mrs. Sally Johnstone, of Elizabeth Town, Kentucky: she is still living in Coles county, Illinois, and well rewarded she must now feel for the maternal kindness with which she cheered and cherished the motherless boy. For though she had three children of her own, her ample heart found room for Abraham.

From 1816 to 1830 Abraham lived with his family in Spencer county: the axe, the plough, the hoe, and the sickle were almost his only friends; in winter and summer, early and late, he was found with one or another; but they were safe and trusty companions; in their society he grew in stature, in hardiness, and strength. At nineteen years of age he was six feet four in height, and so far exhibited the attributes of a ruler that he towered like Saul

above his fellows. It was at this period also that he fell in with the Mr. D'Orsey, to whom allusion has been made as one of his early instructors, and with a Mr. Crawford, between whom and young Lincoln an incident occurred so illustrative of the in-born integrity of the latter, that it would be a serious omission not to subjoin it. Mr. Crawford had lent young Lincoln, always intent upon self-improvement, a 'Life of Washington:' remember, reader, it was in the wilds of Indiana, and perhaps there was not another copy within hundreds of miles, and, moreover, it was the 'Life of Washington:' well, it was left in a window, a sudden storm of rain descended, and the book became an indistinguishable mass. Full of sorrow and of the spirit of reparation, he carried the ruined book to Mr. Crawford, lamented the misfortune, explained its origin, regretted that he had no money, but insisted upon being allowed to "work out" at least the market-value of the book. And so for two days he pulled fodder for Mr. Crawford, and their accounts were considered balanced. And far from grudging the additional labour, the heart of Lincoln was lightened by it—his notions of equity

had been respected; he had been suffered to make compensation. It was during the thirteen years which he spent in Indiana that young Lincoln made the first of his two voyages as a *flat-boatman*. Being anxious, at nineteen years of age, to make an excursion down the Beautiful River, he and a son of the owner of the flat-boat, *par nobile fratrum*, worked their way, without companions it is said, to New Orleans, past the Ohio shore and the mouth of the Wabash into the Golden stream of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER III.

FROM 1830 TO 1842.

BUT even in Indiana Thomas Lincoln found no permanent rest for the sole of his foot, and so in 1830 he again sallied forth and made for Illinois. Here he settled in Macon county on the northern bank of the Sangamon. But a single winter and a single summer were the length of his sojourn in that settlement. Still the short year was not unsignalized by a feat of energy on the part of the future President. Abraham Lincoln, if report lie not, during the residence of his family in Macon county, with the help of John Hawks, a relation of his mother, in one day split *three thousand rails*. The fact is mentioned simply as evidence of the energy of the man, and because it has become an American fashion to connect President Lincoln

with the "mauling of democrats and the splitting of rails."

In the spring of 1831, Thomas Lincoln set out from Macon to Coles county, where he died at the age of seventy-three, in 1851. Peace to his ashes! His life was one long pilgrimage; he found no rest for the sole of his foot, but now he rests for ever. He died, and left, though he knew it not, a welcome legacy to his country—an "honest" man for their future President.

It was in 1831, before Thomas Lincoln had started for Coles county, that a man arrived in Macon county, searching for hands to conduct a flat-boat expedition down the river Mississippi. The fame of Abraham's former voyage had been noised abroad, and he with his former comrade John Hawks, and with his half-brother John Johnstone, was easily induced to add himself to the number of the expeditionists. When the time had come for joining his employer, no boat was forthcoming; and the hands, with young Lincoln prominent amongst them, set to work and built themselves a craft. To New Orleans and back the voyage was made successfully, and in Midsummer,

1831, the flat-boatman and future President returned from his last trip, in the capacity of a boatman, down the golden Mississippi.

The originator of the trip had been a Mr. Denton Offutt; and to Mr. Denton Offutt, Abraham Lincoln eventually became clerk, at a salary of fifteen dollars a month. It was in New Salem, now Petersburgh, that Mr. Offutt's store was situated, and the new comer was forthwith challenged by what were known as the Regulators—that is, bullies—of the place to show his prowess, and win his place amongst them. He wrestled, ran, and offered to fight with them in a determined manner, which gained their esteem, insomuch that when the Black Hawk war broke out he was unanimously chosen their captain. To this period of his history, Mr. Lincoln humorously adverts in a speech delivered by him in 1848. He says: "By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war, I fought, bled, and came away. . . I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often hungry."

After the Black Hawk war Mr. Lincoln, at twenty-three years of age, became a candidate for representative in the State Legislature; and though he was, as might have been expected, considering his youth and namelessness, unsuccessful the fact that his own precinct, which was strongly in favour of General Jackson, whilst he espoused the cause of Henry Clay, gave out of two hundred and eighty-four votes, two hundred and seventy-seven in his favour, bears witness to his popularity. Two years later, in 1834, he was elected to the Legislature, and he had then a majority of some two hundred votes. This was a triumph of which he might well be proud, for Illinois was strongly democratic, whereas he was himself a Whig or what we should call, paradoxical as it may sound, a Conservative. At this time Mr. Lincoln was making his daily bread by surveying, whilst his leisure hours were employed in the study of the law, a profession to which have belonged some of the most distinguished American senators and representatives, and in which Mr. Lincoln was to make no mean figure. At this time also Mr Lincoln, we believe, first became acquainted with

Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, that famous "little giant," whose election to the Presidency was not so very long ago deemed almost a certainty. In 1836, Mr. Lincoln was elected a second time to the Legislature for Sangamon county, and his long-continued rivalry with Mr. Douglas may be said to have commenced with this session, Mr. Douglas having been chosen this year one of the representatives of Morgan county. In 1838, Mr. Lincoln was elected for the third time, and in 1840, for the fourth time, to represent Sangamon in the Legislature; after this he declined to be again elected, wishing to pursue his study of the law without intermission. Not that he had, meanwhile, been neglectful: he had finished his preliminary studies, and had been licensed to practise in 1836. In 1837 business began to flow in upon him, and on the 15th of April in that year he took up his abode in Springfield, the county seat of Sangamon, where he resides to this day. He married on the 4th of November, 1842, Mary, daughter of Mr. R. S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky, by whom he had four children, boys; three of them only are living, the eldest seventeen, the second nine, and

the youngest seven years of age. Of Mrs. Lincoln it will be sufficient to say that all accounts agree in describing her as a most accomplished lady.

To this period of Mr. Lincoln's life most likely, though no exact date is given to it, belongs an anecdote illustrative not only of his talent as an advocate, but of his gratitude as a warm-hearted man.

It will be easily conceived from all that has been said that when Abraham Lincoln commenced his study of the law, his finances were in a by no means flourishing state. Indeed his clothes were of homespun, and patched withal, and he was at one time indebted for bare subsistence to another's hospitality. But great hearts will receive kindness without feeling the burden irksome. They feel that some day an opportunity will arise when they may show that they are not unmindful; and even if the occasion never come, they are conscious of having been done by only as they would do. Farmer Armstrong's hospitality was frankly offered, and frankly Abraham Lincoln accepted it. But Mr. Lincoln was more fortunate than many men; a time came when he could repay his obligation.

Farmer Armstrong had in one way preserved his life; he was in a more palpable manner to preserve the life of Armstrong's son. But one thing there was which rendered his deed of gratitude incomplete; the grave had closed on Farmer Armstrong. Nevertheless, to have comforted the widow and rescued the fatherless, was not an unworthy recompense.

In a riot at a camp-meeting a youth had been killed, and young Armstrong was charged with the murder. He had been seen to inflict the blow: there was an accuser ready to swear to him. He was committed for trial, and as his life had been wild, public opinion was strongly excited against him; nothing but the bars of his prison protected him from Lynch law, for the murdered man had been a favourite. He himself was in despair, whilst his widowed mother called on heaven for help. Nor did she call in vain; the dreadful news reached Lincoln's ear: he flew at once to the rescue, and took his place beside his benefactor's widow. He soon found that there was no hope of a fair trial in the court having jurisdiction; his first move, therefore, was to procure a change of venue

and a postponement of the trial. Meanwhile he was diligent in his inquiries, and soon became satisfied in his own mind that his client was the victim of malice, that the accuser was his personal enemy, and that the accusation was a tissue of lies. At length the trial came on; the evidence of the witnesses for the prosecution appeared to all conclusive, and the counsel for the defence put but few questions, eliciting merely definite answers as to time and place; he introduced only few witnesses, but the evidence went to clear the previous character of his client, and to prove that a greater ill feeling existed between accuser and accused than between the prisoner at the bar and the murdered man. The prosecutor, feeling that he had a clear case, made but a brief and formal speech. Then there was a dead silence, and Mr. Lincoln rose. Calmly and carefully he reviewed the evidence; with that shrewdness which is so characteristic of the man, he pointed out discrepancies hitherto unobserved in the statements of the principal witness; what had before seemed clear, he shrouded in a mist of uncertainty; what had appeared straight as the flight of a rifle-bullet he

made crooked as the path of a serpent; at the time when the accuser had asserted that the crime was committed, and that the ghastly features of the murderer had been revealed by the moonlight, he showed distinctly that the moon could not have risen above the horizon; he drew a picture of the perjured accuser so truthful and so lifelike, that the wretched man started up from his seat, and staggered from the court-room as though the mark of Cain were on his forehead; he set forth in words of simple pathos, irrelevant perhaps, but surely excusable, the debt of gratitude which he owed to his friend who was dead, and to the family of the dead; and he concluded by stating his conviction that though the day was near its close, the sun would not have set ere the prisoner at the bar would go forth from that court-room a free man. Half an hour elapsed and the jury returned; the court-room was filled, but not a whisper was heard as the foreman answered the inquiry of the court with the welcome words "Not Guilty:" then the mother sank into the arms of her son, whilst he grasped the hand of the man who had saved him The sun had not set, and the prisoner was free.

Three hearts were beating with exultation ; three bosoms were full of joy and thankfulness ; and not less enviable than those of the widow and her son must have been the feelings of Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER VI.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HABITS.—A DUEL.—ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE.

THERE are many worthy people who are in a restless state of perturbation, unless they can satisfy themselves minutely as to what manner of man in the flesh is any one who has raised himself to a situation of eminence. If he have beauties, they must admire them; if he have blemishes, they must gloat over them; the shape of his nose, the form of his mouth, the size of his hands, the mole on his neck, the state of his corns, and the length of his finger-nails, are to them matters of infinite importance. Nor are Americans the people in the world least affected with this, it must be allowed, rather morbid curiosity. If their President have a wart upon his nose, be assured every free and enlightened citizen will be made aware of it. It is

not astonishing then, that circumstantial accounts should be extant from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot of so marked a man as Abraham Lincoln. He stands six feet four, it is said, in his stockings. His head is well set upon his shoulders, and would be a pleasing study for a phrenologist. His black hair, thin and wiry, is sprinkled here and there with gray. His forehead is good, his eyes dark gray, and when lit up with emotion, small as they are, flash forth the fire that lives in his soul. His nose is long and slightly aquiline, and his nostrils are cut on that peculiar model which Napoleon praised in his favourite generals. His complexion is that of an octoroon; his face is cut into innumerable angles, and in each there seems to lurk the genius of humour. But his mouth is described as the most expressive of his features, though somewhat inclined to coarseness; and his smile is winning from its frankness and sincerity. His frame is gaunt, his arms long, and his lower limbs proportioned to his gigantic height. His step is firm but slow; and in walking he inclines his head forward, whilst his hands are clasped behind his back. As a speaker he exhibits

readiness, preciseness, and fluency of ideas rather than of language, for his enunciation is for the most part slow and emphatic; and he impresses his hearers with seriousness or convulses them with merriment, according to the requirements of the occasion.

At home he lives as a simple gentleman; his means are but moderate, but sufficient for his wants; a commodious house of wood, not richly but tastefully furnished, surrounded by trees and beds of flowers, forms the mansion where he lives and is content to live. It is sad to record that he drinks no wine or other intoxicating liquor; but as a set off to this he uses no tobacco, and, may one infer, therefore? does not expectorate. *O rara avis!* if this inference be true; O worthy to be an example to the nation! At any rate he indulges in no profanity: "they sha'n't do it, d—n them," is the nearest approach which is known to have ever issued from his lips, when the "honest" man grew warm with wrath, for a fraud upon the State was in the act of perpetration. He does not speculate, he does not gamble, and it is presumed he owes no man a dollar. He is neither *alieni*

appetens, nor *sui profusus*, neither grasping nor lavish; early struggles have made him careful, yet is he proverbial for a sober generosity. He is reported to be a regular attendant upon religious worship, and to be a pewholder, though not a communicant, of the Presbyterian Church in Springfield, to which Mrs. Lincoln belongs.

In dress he despises fashion; and in his manner he adopts cordiality rather than elaborate politeness.

Such is the chieftain of the Black Republicans, the leader of the Anti-slavery-extension party. That with his peculiarities of person and principle he should have escaped the favourite southern test of the duello, seems certainly remarkable; but the only instance, we believe, in which Mr. Lincoln "went out" is related by a Chicago journal in the following words: "A great deal of fun was had by the jokers in Springfield, about an affair in which, long time ago, our good friend Lincoln, *the* candidate for the Presidency, was engaged. A young lady of that city, now the wife of a distinguished statesman, wrote a paragraph in a burlesque vein for the 'Sangamon Journal,' in which General Shields was good humouredly ridiculed for

his connection with some public measure. The general was greatly incensed, and demanded of the editor the name of the offending party. 'Old Sim' put him off with a request for twenty-four hours to consider the matter, and shortly afterward meeting Lincoln, told him his perplexity. 'Tell him I wrote it,' said Lincoln; and tell him he did. After a deal of diplomacy to get a retraction of the offensive parts of the paragraph in question, Shields sent a challenge which Lincoln accepted, named broadswords as the weapons, and an unfrequented, well-wooded island in the Mississippi, just below Alton, as the place. 'Old Abe' was first on the ground, and when Shields arrived he found his antagonist, his sword in one hand and a hatchet in the other, with his coat off, clearing away the underbrush! Before the preliminary arrangements were completed, John J. Hardin, who somehow had got wind of what was afloat, appeared on the scene, called them both d—d fools, and by his arguments, addressed to their common-sense, and by his ridicule of the figure that they, two well-grown, bearded men, were making there, each with a frog-sticker in his

hand, broke up the fight. We do not know how General Shields feels, but we have heard of Lincoln's saying, that the acceptance of the challenge was the meanest thing he ever did in his life. Hardin—than whom a braver man never stood—never came out of that terrible charge at Buena Vista, to which he led the second regiment of Illinois Volunteers. If the events of his life passed in quick review before his mind, as he lay wounded and dying in that fatal ravine, we doubt not that this act of his, by which he prevented two really brave men from engaging in fatal strife, was not the least of the consolations of that bitter hour." Some people might suppose that by using the contemptuous term "frog-stickers," Mr. Hardin intended to give the belligerents a hint that if they meant to fight at all they should have had pistols and seconds according to etiquette. However, Mr. Hardin was certainly a bold man to call two irritated gentlemen with "frog-stickers" in their hands "d—d fools:" and it may be that to his interference is to be attributed the unperforated condition of the Republican President. How "honest" Lincoln could reconcile it to his con-

science to prompt "old Sim" to sacrifice veracity is a matter of astonishment: still his conduct under the circumstances was gallant; and gallantry will cover a multitude of sins. Grotesque as the duel appears under certain aspects, and unworthy of the determined character which distinguishes Abraham Lincoln, there is no record of his having been engaged in any other. Perhaps his gigantic height, his known courage, and even his contempt for duellists in general may have had its effect in repressing the violence of the most chivalrous of Southerns. Mr. Sumner, we believe, is a delicate man of middle stature; Mr. Lincoln was seasoned in the backwoods, and stands six feet four in his stockings; and it requires more chivalry than is usually found in one man to assume the offensive against six feet four. However, Mr. Lincoln, whatever may have been the reason, has not had occasion to fight another duel; and from 1842 to 1844 he lived in the retirement of domesticity, pursuing the even tenor of his legal practice. But on the first of May, 1844, a shout was heard which called him forth to fight the battle of the Whigs: it was a shout of congratula-

tion to Henry Clay; for the National Whig Convention had been held at Baltimore, and Henry Clay had been nominated for the Presidency. Then he once more started into active life; the law was abandoned for a season; he dashed once more into the sea of politics, and canvassed the State in the Clay interest. But doughty champion as he was, he was destined to experience in his own person that the battle is not always to the strong: numbers win the day in a Presidential election; and numbers were on the side of Mr. Polk. And so Henry Clay was defeated, and the Mexican war was precipitated.

In 1846 Mr. Lincoln accepted the Whig nomination for Congress; and the Springfield district gave him the unprecedented majority of fifteen hundred and eleven. He was the only Whig representative from Illinois. He took his seat for the first time in the National House of Representatives on the 6th December 1847, which was the date of the opening of the eventful Thirtieth Congress. It is not impertinent to remark that Mr. Stephen A. Douglas took his seat for the first time in the senate at this session.

Mr. Lincoln soon gave his opponents a touch of his quality. He introduced a series of resolutions respecting the origin of the Mexican war; but they were never acted upon, and the inquiry at which he had aimed was avoided by parliamentary finesse. On merely home measures also Mr. Lincoln made many speeches, full of sound sense, keen logic, and not devoid of eloquence; but to treat of them all here would clearly be beyond our province, and contrary perhaps to the desire of the general reader.

The Thirtieth Congress terminated, according to constitutional usage, on the 4th of March, 1849, and with it Mr. Lincoln's congressional career came to an end. But his fame was established; the name of Lincoln was already a household word, if not throughout the United States, at least in the north and north-west, and above all in his own adopted State of Illinois. He was there regarded as the champion of the Whig party; and the *forty times about* (as he himself expresses it) that he had voted for the Wilmot proviso, of which the distinguishing feature was opposition to slavery-extension, were forty proofs, given in the downright

fashion of "honest old Abe," that when the dissolution of the old Whig party, which was speedily to come to pass, should be accomplished, the name of Lincoln would add weight to the nascent party of Republicans. In 1848 the old Whig party had a severe attack of paralysis, and in 1854 it was dead. But from its ashes rose a cloud of citizens, each yearning towards that party in the State by which he hoped his country would chiefly profit. And so some fell away to this side, and some to that side; and Lincoln joined the Anti-Nebraskians, afterwards better known as Republicans; for there was as yet in Illinois no organized Republican party; the Anti-Nebraskians consisting of a medley of these Whigs and northern Democrats, called Free-soilers, who were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

CHAPTER V

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE. — LINCOLN CANVASSES FOR GENERAL SCOTT.—LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.—MAGNANIMITY OF LINCOLN.—LINCOLN ON THE DRED SCOTT CASE, AND ON THE FOURTH OF JULY.

On every soil of the United States, with the single exception of Massachusetts, the sombre shadow of slavery had at some time fallen at the date of their Independence. Nevertheless, from the days of Washington to the present time, the northern States have aimed at its ultimate abolition by means of non-extension; but so powerful hitherto has been the influence in Congress of the southern States, that the object has never been gained. The nearest approach to it was the Missouri compromise, by which slavery was limited to the country south of 36° 30′, and the present seems the proper place for giving a sketch of the circumstances which attended that measure.

In 1817 the eastern half of the Mississippi

Territory became the territory of Alabama. New States were at this time rapidly forming, and on the 14th December, 1819, Alabama became a member of the Union. It was a Slave State. Meanwhile the slave-holding territory Missouri was a candidate for admission, and an angry discussion arose whether she should be admitted as a Free or as a Slave State. Two reasons were urged why Missouri should be a Free State. Since the date of the Constitution, eight new States had been admitted, four Free and four Slave; the last—Alabama—had been Slave: the first reason urged, therefore, was that it was the turn for a Free State; the second reason was based upon the broader principle that "slavery ought not to be permitted in any State or Territory where it could be prohibited." On this question, so hot waxed the strife between North and South, that it provoked from Jefferson the bitter words, "The Missouri question is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker's Hill to the Treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question." Presently a new feature is given to the appearance of affairs: Maine separates from

Massachusetts and applies to be received as a State. Here, cries the South, is a solution of the difficulty, here is the Free State to set off against Alabama; let Missouri alone with her slaves. But the obvious reply to this was that Maine, being but a division of Massachusetts, brought no accession of strength to the North, and the breach between North and South was wider than ever. At length a compromise was proposed by the North; by it the North yielded the claim to Missouri as a Free State, and the South yielded up the vast region from Missouri to the Pacific. This was in the Senate, where Maine and Missouri had been united in the same bill, without any restriction concerning slavery. But the House of Representatives would admit Missouri only separately from Maine, and under the slavery restriction. Great was the war of words between the two branches of Congress, but at length, after repeated conferences, both Senate and House agreed upon a bill admitting Missouri (after her constitution should be formed) *free of restriction*, but prohibiting slavery north of 36° 30′. But Missouri adopted a constitution denying the rights of citizens even to *free* negroes. And it was not

until August 10, 1821, when the legislature of Missouri had solemnly covenanted to guarantee the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the States," that her admission as a State was definitely accomplished. Such is a brief account of the Missouri compromise; but that compromise, by the influence of the Southern slave-holders, was but a few years since repealed, an opportunity for attacking it being found in the fact that a slip of Texas lay north of 36° 30′, and there is little doubt but that the bitter enmity of the South to Mr. Lincoln arises from their fear that he may endeavour to carry some measure perhaps more offensive to them than the Missouri compromise. For not only did Mr. Lincoln, as became a citizen of the virgin North-west States, on which the stain of slavery has never rested, oppose with all his might that sad repeal, but with all his powers and with all his soul he advocated the running still further South the original line of limitation. Hence the rage against him, hence the cry for secession, the South will not have this fellow to reign over them.

But to return to 1849. Mr. Lincoln had just returned to Sangamon, and had retired from Con-

gress; he had fulfilled his duties faithfully and conscientiously, and he now betook himself again in earnest to his practice at the bar. Nor did the struggles of the political arena re-engage his active attention until the year 1852. He took no part in the exciting events of General Taylor's administration in 1850, nor in the stormy period which followed the death of its head. He had of course watched with eagerness the progress of events; but his gigantic form was no more seen, his voice was no more heard; his drollery no more moved to laughter political opponents as well as political friends, until the electoral canvass for President in 1852. As the advocate for General Scott, Mr. Lincoln then addressed many meetings of his fellow-Statesmen; and though the Whigs had but little reason to congratulate themselves upon the issue of the contest, Mr. Lincoln in his own person gained honour and fresh laurels. General Pierce was inaugurated in 1853, and once more Mr. Lincoln retired to privacy and his profession. But not for long; his quietude was disturbed by a roar of indignation from his party. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, in 1854, called him forth from

the peaceful exercise of his professional duties, and he buckled on his armour to do battle manfully against the doctrine, which, under the phrases of "non-intervention" and "popular sovereignty," really promoted the extension of slavery. An anti-Nebraska party was formed; Mr. Lincoln virtually, if not nominally, headed it, and thus was organized for the first time in Illinois a definite Republican party. Mr. Douglas had been the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; and at Springfield, at Peoria, and elsewhere, Mr. Lincoln withstood his early opponent face to face. In his speech at Peoria Mr. Lincoln said: "... I think I have no prejudice against the southern people; they are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up; this I believe of the masses north and south. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances, and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were out of existence. We know that some southern men do free their slaves, go north, and become tip-top

Abolitionists, whilst some northern ones go south, and become most cruel slave-masters. When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days, and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in

slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South. When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent man. *But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory, than it would for reviving the African slave trade*

by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves *from* Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them *into* Nebraska, *can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle;* and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter."

In this speech we have the man as he is, the "honest" man, the kind man, the logical man, the considerate man. His language may seem to rhetoricians poor, and to pedants sometimes incorrect; but it satisfies the reason, and it touches the heart. What a picture—unfinished it may be—still what a picture he draws of the sins of the fathers visited upon the children! The plague of slaves cannot be got rid of, it clings to the planter like an hereditary leprosy: his sin is his Nemesis; the black demon which his own fathers raised pursues him without end.

It is now time to recount an act of magnanimity on the part of the man whom Illinois, with childlike affection, calls "old Uncle Abe." On the fourth of March, 1855, a United States senator was to be chosen by the Legislature in succession to General Shields. Mr. Lincoln was the choice of the

Whigs, and so great was his popularity that his election seemed certain: but after the ninth ballot it was clear that, unless some sacrifice were made, a Democrat must be returned to the Senate; Mr. Lincoln, therefore, with that disregard of self for which even great men are sometimes distinguished, preferring party to person, prevailed upon his friends to join him in adding their suffrages to those of Mr. Trumbull, and thus he secured for Illinois a worthy republican senator. This is only of a piece with his conduct in 1854, when to those who would have nominated him for governor he said, "No; Bissel will make a better governor, and you can elect him on account of his Democratic antecedents." In 1856 Mr. Lincoln was the right hand of Fremont in his contest with Buchanan; and in 1858 he entered upon that famous struggle with Mr. Douglas, which resulted certainly in Mr. Douglas' election as senator, but which was the forerunner of Mr. Lincoln's ultimate success as a candidate for the Presidency—so powerfully did his speeches impress men's minds. He was defeated then, but he is triumphant now; he has come out the brighter for being plunged in

the abyss, and with great acclamation in his last eventful wrestle he has thrown the victor who had never had a fall.

During his struggle with Mr. Douglas for the Senatorship, Mr. Lincoln delivered a speech in which the following remarkable passages occur: "I have expressed heretofore, and I now repeat, my opposition to the Dred Scott decision, but I should be allowed to state the nature of that opposition, and I ask your indulgence while I do so. What is fairly implied by the term Judge Douglas has used—'resistance to the decision?' I do not resist it. If I wanted to take Dred Scott from his master, I would be interfering with property; . . . but all that I am doing is refusing to obey it as a political rule. If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should. . . . Judge Douglas said last night, that before the decision he might advance his opinion, and it might be contrary to the decision when it was made; but *after* it was made he would abide by it until it was reversed. Just so. We let this

property abide by the decision, *but we will try to reverse that decision.* We will try to put it where Judge Douglas will not object, for he says he will obey it until it is reversed. Somebody has to reverse that decision, since it was made, and we mean to reverse it, *and we mean to do it peaceably.* What are the uses of the decisions of courts? They have two uses. As rules of property they have two uses. First, they decide upon the question before the court; they decide in this case that Dred Scott is a slave. Nobody resists that. Not only that, but they say to everybody else, that persons standing just as Dred Scott stands is as he is. That is, they say that when a question comes up upon another person, it will be so decided again unless the court decides in another way, unless the court over-rules its decision. Well, we mean to do what we can to have the court decide the other way. . . . Circumstances alter cases. Do not gentlemen here remember the case of that same Supreme Court, twenty-five or thirty years ago, deciding that a national bank was constitutional? . . . The bank charter ran out, and a re-charter was granted by Congress.

That re-charter was laid before General Jackson. It was urged upon him when he denied the constitutionality of the Bank that the Supreme Court had decided that it was constitutional; and General Jackson then said that the Supreme Court had no right to lay down a rule to govern a co-ordinate branch of the Government, the members of which had sworn to support the Constitution; that each member had sworn to support that Constitution as he understood it. I will venture here to say that I have heard Judge Douglas say that he approved of General Jackson for that act. What has now become of all his tirade about 'resistance to the Supreme Court'?"

It must be remarked that in his argument, drawn from the National Bank case, Mr. Lincoln is even more forcible than usual; for in the case of the National Bank, precedents were equally balanced: in 1791 and 1816, Congress had decided in its favour, but against it in 1811 and 1815: whereas up to the time of the Dred Scott decision all that there was of precedent was against it.

Allusion having been made to the Dred Scott case, it may not be a useless digression if the

memory of the reader is refreshed by a statement of the case.

"It was an action of trespass brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Missouri, to try Dred Scott's title to freedom. The plaintiff was described in the writ as a citizen of Missouri, and the defendant as a citizen of New York. The declaration contained three counts, alleging assaults on the plaintiff, on Harriet Scott his wife, and on Eliza and Lizzie his children.

"The defendant filed a plea to the jurisdiction, that the plaintiff was not a citizen of Missouri 'because he is a negro of African descent; his ancestors were of pure African blood, and were brought into this country and sold as negro slaves.' To this plea there was a general demurrer which was sustained by the court. The defendant then, by leave of the court, and with the plaintiff's consent, pleaded three pleas in bar, to the effect that the plaintiff and his wife and children were negro slaves, the property of the defendant. At the trial before the jury, the only evidence introduced was a statement of facts, signed by the

parties, in substance as follows: In 1834 the plaintiff was a negro slave belonging to Dr. Emerson, who was a surgeon in the army of the United States, and who in that year took the plaintiff from Missouri to the military post at Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, and held him there as a slave until April or May, 1836, when he removed to the military post at Fort Snelling on the west bank of the Mississippi River, in the territory formerly known as Upper Louisiana, acquired by the United States from France, and situated *north of the line of* 36° 30′ *north latitude*, and north of the State of Missouri (and since called Wisconsin, and now Minnesota Territory), where he continued to hold the plaintiff as a slave until 1838. In 1835 Harriet was the slave of Major Juliaferro, of the army of the United States, who in that year took her to Fort Snelling, and there held her as a slave until 1836, when he sold her to Doctor Emerson, who continued to hold her there as a slave until 1838. In 1836 the plaintiff and Harriet intermarried at Fort Snelling, with the consent of Dr. Emerson, who then claimed to be the owner of both; and Eliza and Lizzie are

the fruit of the marriage. Eliza is about fourteen years old, and was born on board a steamboat on the Mississippi River, north of the line of 36° 30′ latitude; Lizzie is about seven years old, and was born in the State of Missouri, at the military post called Jefferson Barracks. In 1838 Dr. Emerson removed, with the plaintiff and his said wife and eldest child, to the State of Missouri, where they have ever since resided. The defendant is Dr. Emerson's administrator. The plaintiff had previously brought a suit for his freedom in the Circuit Court of St. Louis county, Missouri, and obtained a verdict and judgment; but on a writ of error, the Supreme Court of that State reversed the judgment, and remitted the case to the inferior court, where it was continued to await the decision of this suit.

"Upon these facts, the jury, by direction of the court, returned a verdict for the defendant, and the plaintiff alleged exceptions, and brought up the case by writ of error." This statement is taken from the 'Law Reporter,' for June 1857. The result is well known; Dred Scott was pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States a

slave. On another occasion Mr. Lincoln says: "I protest now and for ever against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I did not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either; but as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone, and do one another much good thereby. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black women, and in God's name let them be so married. The judge regales us with the terrible enormities that take place by admixture of races; that the inferior race bears the superior down. Why, judge, if you do not let them get together in the territories, they won't mix there."

It is very good to hear Mr. Lincoln saying:— "It happens that we meet together once every year some time about the fourth of July for some reason or other. These fourth of July gatherings, I suppose, have their uses. If you will indulge me I will state what I suppose to be some of them. We are now a mighty nation; we are thirty, or about thirty millions of people, and we own

and inhabit about one fifteenth part of the dry land of the whole earth. We run our memory back over the pages of history for about eighty-two years, and we discover that we were then a very small people. . . . We hold this annual celebration to remind ourselves of all the good done in this process of time, of how it was done and who did it, and how we are historically connected with it; and we go from these meetings in better humour with ourselves—we feel more attached the one to the other, and more firmly bound to the country we inhabit. . . . But . . . there is something else connected with it. We have, besides these men descended by blood from our ancestors, those among us—perhaps half our people—who are not descendants at all of these men; they are men who have come from Europe; German, Irish, French, and Scandinavian; men that have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equals in all things. If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none; . . . but when they look through that old Declaration of

Independence, they find that those old men say, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born equal, etc.:' and then they feel that that moral sentiment, taught on that day, evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that declaration. . . . That is the electric cord in that declaration, that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of Freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world. Now, sirs, for the purpose of squaring things with this idea of 'don't care if slavery is voted up or voted down;' for sustaining the Dred Scott decision, for holding that the Declaration of Independence did not mean anything at all, we have Judge Douglas giving his exposition of what the Declaration of Independence means, and we have him saying that the people of America are equal to the people of England. According to his construction, you Germans are not connected with it. Now I ask you in all soberness, if all these

things, if indulged in, if ratified, if confirmed and indorsed, if taught to our children and repeated to them, do not tend to rub out the sentiment of liberty in the country, and to transform this government into a government of some other form? These arguments, . . . that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying, etc.: are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. . . . They always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. . . . I should like to know if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, you begin making exceptions to it, where you will stop. If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book in which we find it, and—tear it out! . . . It may be argued that there are certain conditions that make necessities and impose them upon us, and to the extent that a necessity is imposed upon a man, he must submit to it. I think that was

the condition in which we found ourselves when we established this Government. We had slaves among us: we could not get our Constitution unless we permitted them to remain in slavery; we could not secure the good we did secure if we grasped for more; and having by necessity submitted to that much, it does not destroy the principle that is the charter of our liberties. .

I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature. . . ."

Macte virtute esto, President Lincoln; these are the sentiments of a free man, worthy to be the governour of free men.

CHAPTER VI.

LINCOLN ON SECESSION.—LINCOLN'S NOMINATION AND ELECTION.

It is not until September, 1859, that we find Mr. Lincoln again using his voice and his reason for the Republicans against Mr. Douglas; but at that time he made a speech which is so intensified in importance by his present position, that an extract from it is at this time particularly appropriate. "I often hear it intimated," said he, "that you mean" (he was addressing Ohioans) "to divide the Union whenever a Republican, or anything like it, is elected President of the United States. . . . Well, then, I want to know what you are going to do with your half of it. Are you going to split the Ohio down through, and push your half off a piece? Or are you going to keep it right alongside of us outrageous fellows? Or are you going to build up a wall someway between

your country and ours, by which that movable property of yours can't come over here any more and you lose it? . . . Will you make war upon us, and kill us all? Why, gentlemen, I think you are as gallant and brave men as live; that you can fight as bravely in a good cause, man for man, as any other people living; . . . but, man for man, you are not better than we are, *and there are not so many of you as there are of us.* You will never make much of a hand at whipping us. If we were fewer in numbers than you, I think that you could whip us; if we were equal, it would likely be a drawn battle; but being inferior in numbers, you will make nothing by attempting to master us."

In little more than a year from this time a Republican has been elected President, and that Republican is Abraham Lincoln. May a double portion of the Spirit of Wisdom rest upon him; may Providence guide him in his difficult work, and may the Union remain as heretofore intact. May the manes of Washington rest in peace; may the fabric which his patriotism reared endure undisturbed for ever!

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago on the 16th May, 1860; and it was soon evident that at Chicago the problem of the ensuing Presidency would be solved. The quadrennial convention of the Democratic party at Charleston had shown that the nomination of Douglas by the Democracy in a body was impossible, and either he must withdraw or disruption was inevitable. If Douglas and Breckenridge divided the Democracy, farewell to every hope of a Democratic President. Of the "Constitutional Union" Convention held at Baltimore, of which Bell and Everett were the nominees, it is unnecessary to speak: they never had a chance. Well, the disruption amongst the Democrats ensued, and a Republican President was a certainty. Consequently, as has been said, all eyes were fixed upon Chicago. Two days were passed in preliminaries, and on the 18th of May it was voted, in the presence of many thousands of spectators, who had assembled within the "Wigwam," as the large building erected for the purpose of the nomination was called, that the meeting should proceed to ballot for a candidate for the Presidency. Seven names were presented,

but it was soon evident that the contest would be between Mr. Lincoln of Illinois, and Mr. Seward, of New York. On the first ballot, Mr. Lincoln's votes were 102, Mr. Seward's, 173; on the second, Mr. Lincoln's, 181, Mr. Seward's, 184; on the third, Mr. Lincoln's, 231, Mr. Seward's, 180, and before this result was made known four delegates from Ohio changed their votes in favour of Mr. Lincoln; and he consequently had the required majority, the whole number of votes cast being 466: it was immediately moved and carried that the vote be made unanimous: then came the shouts of joyous crowds, the thunder of cannon, the conveyance of the news by the electric wire; and in a few minutes it was known throughout the States that their next President would almost certainly be Abraham Lincoln. The fact of his nomination was at once telegraphed to Mr. Lincoln, and an incident is related of his behaviour upon the announcement which bears witness to his simplicity, and his homely kindliness. He was quietly sitting, it is said, in the office of the 'Illinois State Journal,' at Springfield: he received the news with characteristic imperturbability, and merely remarking "there

is a little woman down street who would like to know something about this," bore the intelligence of his triumph in person to Mrs. Lincoln. Next day there arrived at Springfield the committee appointed by the Convention to inform Mr. Lincoln officially of his nomination; Mr. Ashmun, President of the Convention, said,

"I have, sir, the honour, in behalf of the gentlemen who are present—a Committee appointed by the Republican Convention recently assembled at Chicago—to discharge a most pleasant duty. We have come, sir, under a vote of instructions to that Committee, to notify you that you have been selected by the Convention of the Republicans at Chicago for President of the United States. They instruct us, sir, to notify you of that selection, and that Committee deem it not only respectful to yourself, but appropriate to the important matter which they have in hand, that they should come in person, and present to you the authentic evidence of the action of that Convention; and, sir, without any phrase which shall either be considered personally plauditory to yourself, or which shall have any reference to the principles involved in the

questions which are connected with your nomination, I desire to present to you the letter which has been prepared, and which informs you of your nomination, and with it the platform resolutions and sentiments which the Convention adopted. Sir, at your convenience we shall be glad to receive from you such a response as it may be your pleasure to give us."

Drawn up to his full height, as is his wont at times, grave as became the occasion, and with that dignity of demeanour which he knows so well how to assume, Mr. Lincoln listened and then replied,

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee—

"I tender to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honour done me, which you now formally announce. Deeply, and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honour—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the Con-

vention, I shall, by your leave, consider more fully the resolutions of the Convention, denominated the platform, and without any unnecessary or unreasonable delay, respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted.

"And now I will not longer defer the pleasure of taking you, and each of you, by the hand."

Tall Judge Kelly, of Pennsylvania, who was one of the Committee, and who is himself a great many feet high, had meanwhile been eyeing Mr. Lincoln's lofty form with a mixture of admiration and very likely jealousy; this had not escaped Mr. Lincoln, and as he shook hands with the judge he inquired, "what is your height?"

"Six feet three; what is yours, Mr. Lincoln?"

"Six feet four."

"Then," said the judge, "Pennsylvania bows to Illinois. My dear man, for years my heart has been aching for a President that I could *look up to*, and I've found him at last in the land where we thought there were none but *little* giants." It will be remembered that Mr. S. A. Douglas bears the sobriquet of the Little Giant. "We will consider

it so this evening," said Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Andrews from Massachusetts, who had remarked that "all the old Lincoln name are from Plymouth colony;" from which one would gather that Mr. Lincoln does not generally sanction by his authority the reports which trace his origin to the Lincolns of Plymouth; however, his origin is a matter of little consequence, when we have a man such as is described in the following lines:—

Our leader is one who with conquerless will
Has climbed from the base to the brow of the hill;
Undaunted in peril, unwavering in strife,
He has fought a good fight in the battle of life:
And we trust him as one who, come woe or come weal,
Is as firm as the rock and as true as the steel;
Right loyal and brave, with no stain on his crest,
Hurrah! boys, for "honest old Abe" of the west!

"Conquerless" is a bold word perhaps, but the poet's feelings must be his apology. Mr. Lincoln's formal reply to the official announcement of his nomination, was as follows:

Springfield, Illinois, May 23, 1860.

SIR,

I accept the nomination tendered me by the Convention over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised in a letter of yourself and others acting as a Committee of the Convention for that purpose. The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate it, or disregard it in any part. Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the Convention, to the rights of all the states and territories and people of the nation, to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, harmony, and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the Convention.

Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

HON. GEORGE ASHMUN,
President of the Republican Convention.

The principles to which Mr. Lincoln alludes

were set forth in a series of resolutions proposed and carried unanimously at the Republican Convention; of this "platform" as it is called by Americans, the resolutions of most importance at this juncture are the third and ninth; the former sets forth "That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honour abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may, and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of the Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce these threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and for ever silence;" the latter, "That we brand the recent re-opening of the African

slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age; *and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.*"

It is still fresh in the memories of all, how the nomination at Chicago was ratified by the people, how in the empire State of New York the election of Lincoln was carried by an overwhelming majority, how Breckenridge and Bell and Douglas went down before the magic of his name; and how at last men saw the unprecedented sight of a President elect, who had not carried a single slave State.

It may here be mentioned as a significant and interesting fact that Dr. Beecher, father of the eloquent Henry W. Beecher and of Mrs. H. B. Stowe, himself very celebrated as a divine and, what is more, as a man of enlightened views, voted for Lincoln. The venerable old man's first vote was given for Washington, and it is no small honour to Lincoln, and no small testimony to his character, that a man of learning and intellect, who has watched every Presidency from the first even

until now, should have voted for him. And let no man smile or whisper of dotage; Dr. Beecher's white hairs alone attest his age, his eye is not dim nor his natural force abated.

From Washington to Buchanan are eighteen Presidencies (including re-elections) and in every case the President was either himself a slave-holder or supported by Southerners. Mr. Lincoln is neither one nor the other. That crisis which sooner or later was sure to arrive in American government has come at last; and not only Americans, but the world may rejoice that the man to whose lot it has fallen to face that crisis is Lincoln, not another. South Carolina, it is true, considers herself affronted; but, to use a common expressive phrase, South Carolina is not every-body; she may secede in a sulky fit, but we do not in consequence expect the Deluge.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

MR. LINCOLN'S history has been briefly traced from boyhood to manhood, from the backwoods to the White House, from rail-splitting to the Presidency; and so singular is his position, that a review of the constitutional method of electing and the constitutional powers vested in a President of the United States, will not be here out of place. We read, "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States; he shall hold office for four years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, shall be elected thus:

"Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Repre-

sentatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

* "The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons

having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President

shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

"The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

"No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution (a proviso which has become of course, by lapse of time, almost obsolete), shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

"In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

"The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

"Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

"'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.'

"The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

"He shall have power by and with the advice and

consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive

ambassadors and other public ministers, he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

"The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours."

The article marked with an asterisk is an amendment upon the original article of the constitution: "it provides that the ballots of the electors shall be separately given for President and Vice-President, instead of one ballot for two persons as President; that the Vice-President (like the President) shall be chosen by a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; that the number of candidates, out of whom the selection of President is to be made by the House of Representatives, shall be three instead of five; that the Senate shall choose the Vice-President from the two highest numbers on the list; and that, if no choice is made of President before the fourth of March following, the Vice-President shall act as President" (Story's

Commentaries). The original article stood thus: "The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot *for two persons*, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. *And they shall make a list of all persons voted for*, and of the number of votes for each; which *list* they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. *The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President*, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; *and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President;* and if no person have *a* majority, then, *from the five highest on the list, the said House shall in like manner choose the President.* But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a

quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. *In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.*"

The immediate cause of the amendment was the fearful crisis in 1801, when Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President; the votes for the two candidates were even, and Mr. Burr got up a party in the House of Representatives, to vote for him as President; so hot waxed the contest that sick men were brought down on their beds to vote, so evenly flowed and ebbed the tide of battle, that victory for days hung doubtful, and it was only the final charge of Mr. Bayard which decided the struggle *by a majority of one,* in favour of Thomas Jefferson, who it will be remembered shares with Washington, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson, the honour of having been re-elected [vide page 90].

And now that by actual reference to the Constitution of the United States, some—more it is hoped than faint—idea has been given to the reader of the method of election, of the duties, and of the powers of a President it remains for us only to join our voices to those of our transatlantic kinsmen who are ready to shout for their Constitution "Esto Perpetua," and for the latest successor of the illustrious Washington, "God save Abraham Lincoln!"

A List of the Presidents of the United States, with the dates of their entry upon office.

1.	George Washington .	Virginia . .	April 30, 1789.
2.	John Adams . . .	Massachusetts.	March 4, 1797.
3.	Thomas Jefferson . .	Virginia . .	March 4, 1801.
4.	James Madison . .	Virginia . .	March 4, 1809.
5.	James Monroe . . .	Virginia . .	March 4, 1817.
6.	John Quincy Adams .	Massachusetts	March 4, 1825.
7.	Andrew Jackson . .	Tennessee . .	March 4, 1829.
8.	Martin Van Buren .	New York. .	March 4, 1837.
9.	Williams H. Harrison	Ohio . . .	March 4, 1841.
10.	John Tyler	Virginia . .	April 4, 1841.
11.	James Knox Polk . .	Tennessee . .	March 4, 1845.
12.	Zachary Taylor . .	Louisiana . .	March 4, 1849.
13.	Millard Fillmore . .	New York. .	July 9, 1850.
14.	Franklin Pierce . .	New Hampshire	March 4, 1853.
15.	James Buchanan . .	Pennsylvania .	March 4, 1857.

Note.—1, 3, 4, 5, and 17, re-elected; 9, died one month after inauguration, and succeeded by Vice-President; 12, died, and succeeded by Vice-President.

In March, 1861, the present Constitution will have numbered seventy-two years, during which there have been eighteen elections for President, resulting in the election of twelve Southern and six Northern; including the re-election of five of the former.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

(*Reprinted by permission from "The Times."*)

THE political intelligence from the United States grows daily more important. By each packet we learn of the continued growth of the party in the South favourable to a disruption of the Federal Government, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy or empire, for the protection and extension of African slavery. Whether this movement will or will not be successful will depend partly on the course which the remaining free States adopt, and partly on the manner in which Europe receives the new applicants for admission into the family of nations. Our present object is to seek, in the history of African slavery in the United States, the explanations and key—if they may be found there—of this Southern revolution.

The war of the Revolution left the United States with a heavy debt and paralyzed industry. The contest had not been carried on without occasional outbreaks of sectional jealousy; but the purity of Washington had reconciled all interests to his supremacy. Population was confined to a belt of country on the Atlantic coast. The west of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia were in the occupation of the aborigines. Maine was nearly a wilderness. The plantations of the extreme South were near the sea-shore. It was divided thus: States now free, one million three hundred and thirty-eight thousand six hundred, and States now slave one million twenty-seven thousand. The debt of the country was about seven million three hundred thousand pounds, of which about one million six hundred thousand pounds bore interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum, and the rest at six per cent. The industry and productions of the different sections, though not so decidedly distinguished from each other as now, possessed the germs of their present character. Mr. Madison said in the Convention for the formation of the Federal Constitution that "the staple of

Massachusetts was fish, of Pennsylvania flour, and of Virginia tobacco." During the long war the national production had been checked, and it is difficult now to appreciate the crippled condition of the country at that time. Three millions of people were scattered along this narrow belt, with the rudest means for intercommunication, and with little personal knowledge of each other's wants and productions. The Continental currency had been swollen by the issue of worthless paper money, and had at length exploded under the pressure, and had carried destruction to all parts. During the war the States had united themselves by an instrument called the Articles of Confederation, which had proved unequal to save society from disaster; or, when fallen, to raise it again to prosperity. Before the war was ended the mutinous troops had surrounded the helpless Congress with arms, and when peace had restored industry to its deserted channels the ships were found without trade, the farmers were loaded with a currency not worth the paper on which it was imprinted, and rebellion broke out in more than one State. To remedy this state of things

the Federal Convention met in Philadelphia on the 14th of May, 1787, and closed its work on the 17th of the following September, by offering for acceptance the present Constitution.

At that time slavery existed in every State but Massachusetts. Other Northern States had, however, taken steps for its abolition, and even the position of Virginia in the minds of some who sat in the Convention was doubtful. After a Session of two months one of the more Southern delegates declared that he considered her a Southern State in interest. Thus early, in the language of Mr. Madison on the floor of the Convention, "the States were divided into different interests, not by their difference of size, but other circumstances, the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves." The planting States of the Carolinas and Georgia, which at that time were dependent on the African slave trade for the supply of labour, headed one extreme interest. Virginia led the other, and there was not, with the exception of the slave-trading interest, any sentiment north of the Carolinas in favour of slavery.

Washington declared that "as far as his suffrage would go, it should not be wanting to abolish it." Jefferson "loaded with execrations" the statesmen "who, permitting one-half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies." Patrick Henry "believed a time would come when an opportunity would be offered to abolish this lamentable evil." We might multiply to any extent quotations to the same effect from the writings and speeches of the founders of the Republic from Southern States. It is a conceded point now in the United States that at the date of the formation of the present Constitution slavery was regarded as an evil to be deplored, and, if possible, to be got rid of.

The Convention for the information of the Constitution was composed of such men. Washington was there. Without the weight of his name there is little probability that jealousies would have been allayed and rivalries harmonized. Franklin was to have made the motion for his appointment as President, but was kept at home by illness that day. During most of the time afterwards he was present

frequently taking part in the deliberations. His extreme age not allowing him to speak himself, his remarks were read for him by a younger colleague. Mr. Madison was there from Virginia, untiring in his efforts to secure a Government that might check the downward course of the country; and among the delegates from New York was young Hamilton, whose good fortune it was afterwards, as first Secretary of the Treasury, to re-establish the financial credit of the country.

Sectional difficulties early manifested themselves —difficulties growing directly out of slavery, and the probable different futures of the two parts of the country. The representatives from the Carolinas and Georgia contended for the impossibility of any other kind of labour on their plantations. The general sentiment of the Convention, however, was opposed to slavery; and of all the members none was more strenuous in his opposition than Mr. Madison, none more consistent than the illustrious President. When New England faltered, Virginia stood firm—not alone at Philadelphia, but also at New York, where the Congress of the federation was in session at the same time. In the

year 1784 that State had ceded to the general government the territory now constituting the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and Mr. Jefferson had at once proposed that slavery should never exist on this or any territory to be ceded to the nation. The measure failed, owing to the absence of a New Jersey member; but on the 13th of July, 1787, while the Constitutional Convention was in session, after the committee had been instructed to prepare a draught of the Constitution, but before they had reported, Mr. Jefferson's measure was applied to the north-west territory by a unanimous vote of the Congress at New York.

The committee who had the preparation of a draught for a Constitution reported their plan on the 6th of August. After a discussion of more than a month, during which many essential changes were made, tending to strengthen the central Government, the Convention completed the present Constitution of the United States, which, while confining the legislative action on slavery in the States to each particular State, and while studiously avoiding the use of the word "slave,"

recognizes the institution in three of its provisions.

First. In the article establishing a basis of representation on three-fifths of the slave population. This provision was taken from the ordinance relative to taxation passed in April, 1783. Under the Confederation each State had an equal vote, and consequently no question of representation could arise. But the distribution of a tax evidently could not be made on the same basis. It would have been manifestly unjust to call upon Rhode Island or Delaware to contribute to the national coffers the same amount as the wealthy States of Massachusetts or New York. In the struggle for the apportionment of the national tax, it having been settled that population was the only true basis, the North—that is, the Slave States with the greatest tendencies towards freedom—claimed that the slaves should be regarded as population. Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, for instance, said in debate, "that as to this matter it was of no consequence by what name you called your people—whether by that of freemen or of slaves; that in some countries the labouring poor were called free-

men, in others they are called slaves, but that the difference as to the State was imaginary only." The South, on the other hand, insisted that the slaves were property, and were not to be rated. The parties compromised by rating three-fifths of the slaves as population for the purpose of taxation. In the formation of the new Constitution it was proposed that the votes in the Lower House should not be by States, but that each vote should count, as in the House of Commons. Without such a division of power there is no probability that the large States would have consented to unite with the smaller ones. Instantly the character in which slaves were to be regarded became of vast importance, and the parties shifted sides. The North insisted that they were property; the South, which was at this time decidedly the wealthiest section of the Union and the best able to pay taxes, that they were persons. They said that these slaves were producers of property, and that government being instituted only for the protection of property, these producers should be represented. Mr. King, of Massachusetts, at length "consented to yield something in the proportion of representation for the

security of the Southern States." The existence of the navigating interest of the East depended on union and the passage of a navigation law. Accordingly the taxation basis of 1783 was adopted as the representation basis of 1787, under which the Southern States have now a slave representation in the Lower House about equal to the representation of the State of Ohio.

2. The clause prohibiting the restraining the importation of slaves from Africa prior to 1808.—This clause was carried by the same combination between the New England States and the extreme South. In the Carolinas and Georgia the principal means of sustenance of the wealthy planters was extracted from the wet and swampy earth at a fearful sacrifice of life. The ships of New England furnished the supply from the coast of Africa. Hence the combination to continue the existing state of things.

3. The clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves.—The ordinance of 1787, which established freedom as the law of labour over the north-west territory, contained, as the condition thereof, a provision that any person escaping into

the territory from whom labour or service could be lawfully claimed in any one of the original States might be reclaimed and returned to service. This was the germ of the provision concerning fugitive slaves in the new Constitution. The draught of the Constitution reported by the committee on the 6th of August contained nothing relative to fugitive slaves, nor was anything said about it until the 28th or 29th of that month. Before that time the new instrument had begun to take form and substance,—a form and substance very objectionable to some of the States. A vote of two-thirds was to be necessary on the subject of navigation. This might strike at the root of the prosperity of New England. Congress was to have power to abolish the slave trade, and there was little doubt what they would do. Not only was public sentiment beginning to manifest itself against the traffic—the first murmurings of the coming storm,—but the interests of the central States were, even at that early day, pointing towards slave breeding. The cost of slaves in the South would be greatly increased by that measure, and New England united with the Carolinas and Georgia, not only to place

the abolition of the slave trade beyond the immediate power of Congress, but to put into the national Constitution the same provision concerning fugitive slaves that the Congress at New York had six weeks before enacted as part of the fundamental law for the government of Ohio. It does not appear that there was any opposition to this measure, and, indeed, it is difficult to understand why any State but Massachusetts should have opposed it. Slavery existed everywhere else throughout the republic, except on the virgin soil of the North-west. It is not easy to see what good reason any man sitting in that Convention could have given against the provision. It violated no prejudice of that day; it did not extend the domain of slavery; it did not propose to consign a new man to bondage, and there was probably not much sympathy among slaveholders in favour of an escaped slave. The measure was the most natural thing for a body like the Convention of 1787 to do, and it was carried at once, *nem. con.*

This examination of the circumstances under which the Constitution was adopted will make the subsequent steps in the history of slavery intelli-

gible. Mr. Webster, in his speech on the compromise of 1850, says:—

"Three things are quite clear as historical truths. One is that there was an expectation that, on the ceasing of the importation of slaves from Africa, slavery would begin to run out here. Another is, that, as far as there was any power in Congress to prevent the spread of slavery in the United States, that power was exercised in the most absolute manner and to the fullest extent. . . . The other and third clear historical truth is, that the Convention meant to leave slavery in the States as they found it,—entirely under the authority and control of the States themselves."

The ascendency of the Anti-Slavery party continued through the Administrations of General Washington and Mr. Adams. The first retroactive move was the annexation of Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson in 1802, which was regarded as an unconstitutional act by the party which brought it about, and was justified only by the obvious political necessity of securing the western bank and outlet of the Mississippi. One of the last acts of the Session of 1806-7 was the exercise of the

power given by the Constitution to prohibit the importation of slaves after 1808. In 1794 American vessels had been forbidden to engage in the trade, except to ports of the United States. These also were now to be closed. But in the twenty years that had elapsed, a new element had entered into the question, which changed its nature entirely, destroying old combinations and forming others, as the introduction of a new chemical agent often reorganizes physical matter. Until the year 1794 indigo and rice were the staple yield of the planting States. The cheaper production of the former article in the East was already threatening to destroy its growth in the West, and to reduce slavery to the unhealthy rice lands of the Carolinas. The invention of the cotton gin changed the whole aspect of affairs, by giving an impetus to the production of that article such as is not equalled in history. From five hundred pounds in 1793—little more than a bale—the exports of this article swelled to eighteen million pounds in 1800. Before its invention the annual value of the cotton crops of the United States was about fifty thousand pounds. If we are

not mistaken it is now more than forty million pounds.

All comparative statements of population are made by decennial periods in the United States. Let us pause at the point we have reached—the year 1810. During the twenty years two new Slave States and two new Free States had been added to the Union, and the territorial dominion of the slave interest had also been extended by the acquisition of Louisiana. The white population of the country had increased about eighty-two per cent., the slave population about seventy per cent., and the free black population about two hundred and thirteen per cent. This increase in the free black population is attributable to the emancipation of slaves in the North; notwithstanding this, it appears that the slave population nearly held its own with the white, from which we infer that the African slave trade supplied the gaps made by northern emancipation. This increase of population is not evenly distributed throughout the Union. During the first half of this period the New England States increased but twenty-two per cent., the Middle States thirty-eight per cent.,

the Central Slave States twenty-eight per cent., and the coast planting States fifty-six per cent.; from which we infer that while the African slave trade was in brisk operation, the material prosperity of the planting States advanced.

War was declared between the United States and this country in 1812, and left its visible marks on the national progress. New England increased but twelve per cent. between 1810 and 1820; during the same time the cotton-growing States of the South added fifty-three per cent. to their number, and the young North-West doubled itself. Two new Slave States and three new Free States were admitted to the Union during this decade. At the close of it the Southern States, feeling themselves strong in numbers and wealth, made the first move towards legalizing slavery in the newly acquired territory. The contest about Missouri began in 1818, and lasted more than three years. The Lower House several times voted to exclude the institution from the new State, and the Conservative Senate as often restored it. The struggle ended by the adoption of the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes as the

limit beyond which slavery should not go. Under this law, known as "the Missouri Compromise," the South and the North have each gained two States. During the same period a further Southern addition was made in the purchase of Florida.

This is, perhaps, the most convenient place for a moment's divergence to consider the situation of the cotton lands of the United States.

Of the fifteen Slave States only nine are large producers of cotton. The other six supply the slaves to work the plantations of the South. The increase of slaves in the latter States, consequently, is not proportionate with the increase in the former. In the ten years ending in 1850, for instance, the slave population of the United States increased twenty-eight per cent. During the same period the slave population of Virginia increased only five and a half per cent., while in Mississippi it increased fifty-seven per cent., and in Arkansas one hundred and thirty-five per cent. This explains why the Northern Slave States must politically support the planting States. The prohibition of the African slave trade gives them the monopoly of the Southern slave markets.

The nine cotton States are divided into three great natural sections. South Carolina and the Atlantic part of Georgia form the eastern, the oldest, and the least valuable section. The sea-shore and the islands which abound off the coast produce the Sea Island cotton. A wide tract of pine barren and swamp separates these from the uplands.

Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas form a district to the west of the Mississippi. The soil of the former State is principally given up to the production of sugar ; in the others the growth of cotton is recent and confined to the country (except Texas) having an outlet through the Mississippi. The capacity of this enormous country is almost boundless. The lands are rich and yield heavy crops. They contain more than three hundred and fifty million acres, of which less than five million are improved, and are permeated by large navigable rivers.

Alabama, Mississippi, the northern part of Florida, and the southern part of Tenessee constitute the third section, and furnish more than one-half of the entire production of the United States. The soil is varied, but ever rich. The dark loamed valleys among the sandy uplands of

the north, the prairies of the centre, and the lowlands near the Mississippi, are all made to yield the great staple. When the Missouri compromise was enacted, nearly the whole of this rich country was in the occupation of the aborigines. Now they are all driven to the west of the Mississippi, and their lands are made to minister to the wants of civilized man. If the Indian has suffered at the hands of the white man, he has also received a tenfold recompense. Our literature has transformed his nature, and immortalized the transformation. We have invested his physical as well as his moral form with imaginary graces, have elongated his broad ill-favoured features into shapes of beauty, have made of his sloth a manly pride, of his treachery the warrior's prudence, of his little cunning strategic art—have forgotten his bloodthirsty ferocity in the contemplation of his stoicism in the face of death. But we have never yet, in our most sentimental moods, regretted that he was moved from some of the most fertile lands on the globe, to make way for the cotton planter. During the administration of Mr. John Quincy Adams, difficulties arose between the whites and the Indians,

in consequence of the resort of fugitive slaves to the latter. The measures were commenced by him, and perfected by his successor, which resulted in their removal to the west of the Mississippi.

In 1830 we find one more Slave State than in 1820—Missouri. The free emigration from New York and Pennsylvania had also begun to go into Michigan, and the slave emigration into Florida and Arkansas. An unnoticed movement towards Texas had also commenced. Simultaneously with the passage of the Missouri compromise Mexico had emancipated its slaves; but Texas was so far removed from the central government that the importation of slaves from the neighbouring States could not be prevented. In this way slavery found an illegal footing there. Its increase in the American Republic at that time was greater than is indicated by the number of new Slave States. No federal measure had given it so rapid an impulse as the removal of the Indians to the west of the Mississippi. The population of Alabama increased one hundred and thirty-six per cent. betweeen 1820 and 1830, and the south-western States were found, for the first time, producing a larger crop than the

Atlantic States. Not only did they have the advantage in quantity, but in cost of production. The same amount of labour expended on these fertile lands yielded an average production of two thousand pounds to the hand, while the older lands of Carolina would hardly yield nine hundred. Thus the whole production of the country, which in 1816 amounted to only one hundred million pounds, in 1831 reached three hundred million pounds. Such was the demand for cotton that the price was not materially reduced. The average price for the ten years (excluding the inflated year of 1825) was between eleven cents and twelve cents, the price before the crisis of this year. The improvements in machinery and competition in markets have cheapened manufactured goods, without reducing the price of the raw material.

During the next ten years Arkansas was admitted as a Slave State and Michigan as a Free State. The movement for the independence of Texas began about the same time. Under the administration of Mr. Tyler steps were taken to annex it to the United States, on the avowed ground that it was necessary to prevent emancipation. Its

annexation was completed by Mr. Palk, and brought on the Mexican war, in which General Taylor won the laurels that made him Mr. Palk's successor. By this annexation the Union acquired a new Slave State, with the right to make four others out of the territory as it should be peopled. Iowa and Wisconsin were both admitted as Free States about this time. The annexation of Texas was intended by its friends to balance any future increase of the North in that quarter.

The treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo terminated the Mexican war, by the cession of California and New Mexico to the United States, and the struggle for their possession began at once. In the Presidential election of 1848 a large part of the Northern Democrats and Whigs seceded from their respective parties, and united on the basis of non-extension of slavery, which they proposed to effect by enacting Mr. Jefferson's proviso as the fundamental law of the newly-acquired territory, and though not strong enough to cast a vote in the Electoral College, they succeeded in throwing the administration of General Taylor into a minority in Congress. This sectional party, known as the

Free-soil Party, was organized in every Northern State, and in the great State of New York threw a vote in excess of that of the regular Democratic party. The European emigration, also, commencing in 1846 for the first time on a great scale, was beginning to add a visible strength to the free labour of the North. In spite of annexation, and in spite of slave representation, the South found itself losing ground. At the formation of the Constitution it had forty-six per cent. of the Lower House ; in 1810, forty-three per cent. ; forty-one per cent. in 1830 ; and thirty-nine per cent. in 1850. Free labour was gaining in spite of odds. We use the terms *free labour* and *slave labour* as convenient ones, because economists use them, but they are not strictly correct. Slavery is not labour in the economical sense ; it is rather one of the operations of capital. As the beast of burden goes to his master's stall to be fed by his master's food, the plantation slave retires to a cabin he can never own to feed upon the food supplied him by another. The free labourer of the Northern State, on the contrary, is the pillar of the political fabric. Educated himself in the common schools of the land, with the

opportunity of educating his children at the same, feeling an interest at stake in the community of which he forms part, seeing no social state into which he may not enter if qualified, and with the certainty of constant employment at high wages, the use of his right arm is labour in its legitimate sense, the labour often directed by another, but always at the will of the owner. This is the labour which elevates a community, which makes it healthy and vigorous, which attaches it to free institutions, and which accumulates for it material wealth.

The administration of General Taylor came into power under such a state of feeling, and ended a stormy existence in sixteen months by the death of its chief. Without being decidedly Northern it certainly was not Southern. The Government plan for settling the sectional difficulties would have made Free States of California and Mexico, thus stopping the extension of slavery. This was opposed by the united South and the Northern Presidential rivals of General Taylor. Had General Taylor lived, and his plan gone into effect, the limits of the institution would have been

definitely settled, and the slave owners, instead of wasting their strength in periodical convulsions of the Union, would have set themselves in earnest to develop the rich country in their possession. The successor of General Taylor reversed his policy; the compromise measures of 1850 were passed; General Pearce was elected to support them; and they have since been naturally followed by the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott decision, and the rebellion of 1860. The North endeavoured to unite in 1856 to resist these measures, but found themselves unable to do so. Mr. Buchanan was elected by the united vote of the South, and of the great border States of Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. In 1860 the verdict is reversed. The great Democratic party has been itself divided. A portion, under the lead of Mr. Douglas, has maintained that Congress has no authority to legislate for the Territories; but that each Territory is sovereign within itself. A portion, under the lead of Mr. Breckenridge, has contended that by the Constitution the right is guaranteed to every citizen of the United States to

remove to any of the Territories with all his property that is recognized as property in the State from which he goes. The old Whig party has entirely vanished from the Northern States, and the Republican party, having the freedom of the Territories as its leading idea, has elected its President by a nearly unanimous vote of the free States—three votes out of the seven votes of the State of New Jersey being the only one cast against him. The Southern planting States are consequently moving with unexampled unanimity for a dismemberment of the Confederation, and there is now little doubt that, before the expiration of Mr. Buchanan's term, the United States of North America will, on paper at least, consist of several slave States less than at present.

Instead of the extinguishment of slavery, as predicted in 1787, it now threatens to extinguish the federation. It exists in fifteen of the thirty-one States of the Union, sends thirty senators to Congress, and eighty-eight representatives, and has controlled the Federal Government for the whole century. All the territories of the United States are open to its extension. We have marked its

beginning and traced its progress. We have seen the cotton crop, less than a million of pounds in 1790, expand to four million six hundred thousand bales, of four hundred pounds each, in 1859. The conclusion is irresistible that this plant, which brings honest bread and cheap clothing to so many free men and women, which yields millions of wealth to Great Britain, and enables a reduction of taxation upon the necessaries of life, which regulates exchanges between the greatest commercial countries, which gives employment to more free labour than any other vegetable production, has also perpetuated African bondage.

It would seem difficult to overrate the influence of the cotton crop. So far as it has formed an element in the foreign commerce of the United States, so far has it brought wealth to the nation. Whether the same soil would or would not with free labour have yielded greater crops and brought larger returns from abroad is not to the purpose in measuring what it has accomplished. Yet we are inclined to think that its relative value has been over-estimated. The exports of cotton from the United States have increased enormously

since 1790; but an examination of the domestic reports shows that other products have risen in the same proportion. Since the United States began to produce gold for exportation, cotton has fallen several millions short of one-half of the domestic exports. It is to be observed, too, that in order to maintain this relation in commerce, Southern productions have been stimulated by law in the manner we have pointed out, while free labour has been aided only by the natural increase, and by European immigration, and has been retarded by fluctuations in financial policy. This stimulus to Southern production has, by raising the value of field hands from five hundred or six hundred dollars to twelve hundred or fifteen hundred dollars, operated at last adversely to it.

The stimulating influence of slave productions upon other branches of American industry has been still more over-estimated by economists. The ratio of cotton to other exports we have already noticed. In the progress of the navigating interest of the nation this product plays a still less important part. More than anything else perhaps the desire to advance the perishing shipping

interest caused the Union. In 1787 one hundred British vessels carried the crop of the Carolinas to Europe, while the ships of the North were rotting for want of the employment which it was asserted they could attain by the passage of a national Navigation Act. Yet no such act was passed by the Federal Government till 1817. Circumstances in Europe rendered it unnecessary, and it is probable that American commerce would have revived and flourished even under the Old Confederation. When Mr. Jay came to London in 1793 to negotiate the treaty of commerce which bears his name in America, he was instructed by General Washington to secure the abrogation of the British Navigation Laws in favour of American bottoms. It is needless to say that he failed; but the condition of Europe for the next twenty years made the failure unimportant. Until 1812 the United States were a neutral nation in the midst of a belligerent world. It was only when Europe was restored to peace that they enacted a retaliatory Navigation Act. Their tonnage then amounted to one million three hundred thousand tons, of which about two-thirds was engaged in the foreign trade.

In 1842 it had only risen to about two millions. The great increase is since that time, and is mainly owing to the increase in the free labour of the country, caused by the immigration and by the production of gold. This is the period within which the free industry of the country has made the greatest stride, and within which the consumption of foreign products has increased the most. The cotton crop has not advanced at all in proportion; and the ratio of cotton exports, as we have shown, has diminished. This material prosperity should not be charged exclusively to the account of African slavery; three hundred thousand masters control three million five hundred thousand slaves at the South; eighteen million of freemen inhabit the North, creating wealth for themselves by their labour. It is they who consume European productions. We have not the means of following the importations from New York over the country, but we venture to say that the ledgers of its merchants will show that the Free States are the principal consumers of Yorkshire and Lancashire manufactures. Within fifteen years over three millions of Irish and Germans have been added to these

sections. The former come destitute, the latter only provided with coin. A sufficiency of employment soon gives them plenty of money, articles which habit or want made unknown to them in Europe become necessaries in their altered condition, and their needs have increased the foreign trade of the United States beyond any stimulus which it has received by the increase in the productions of slave labour.

The American Union owes its territorial aggrandizement to slavery, and its commercial strength to freedom. The two systems of labour are not unlike their products. The rude, uncultivated animal labour of the South, worked like a machine, without a will of its own, sows, tills, harvests, and packs in huge bales for market an important vegetable production. Even this is not done without the help of freemen. A kind Heaven supplies a rich soil, and sends down the genial sunshine and refreshing rain. Every other aid in the process, except the actual agricultural work, is rendered by freemen. The field tools come from their shops, and the machine which cleans the crop when gathered, and makes it valuable, was invented and is manu-

factured in the North. At the water's edge it passes beyond the capacities of slave labour. The intelligence of the freeman is required to design and construct the vessel that is to carry it to the port whence it will be transferred to the manufacturer, to invent and operate the railways that carry it to the mills. What a profuseness of ingenious invention and fertile expedients is exhausted in transforming it into the various fabrics for use! Quick, active, working intellect is demanded at every step. The slave, who can have no home, no wife, no children, no property, no life even that he can call his own, what has he to induce the thought that can alone produce these results? His labour yields only the rough, or, in the strikingly appropriate language of commerce, the *raw* material. When he has exhausted his rude capacities, the hopeful skill of the freeman takes up the work where he left it, and makes of his well-packed bales fine muslins for rich ladies and coarse clothing for the negroes themselves, common calicoes and beautiful prints, fine spun threads which a spider might envy and the stoutest ropes, beautiful fabrics for male attire and canvas for ships; and when it

has served its purpose in these several forms, the same ingenuity takes possession of the tattered remains, and converts them into perhaps the very paper on which we write. Whether systems of labour so unlike each other—the one so dead, the other so full of life—can continue to live side by side is a problem which the United States are now attempting to solve for themselves.

List of the United States, with Date of Entrance into the Uni and Population at Last Census (1850-51).

States.	Date admitted into Union.	White Population.	Free Coloured Population.	Total Free.	Slave
New England.					
Maine	1820	581,813	1,356	583,169	- -
New Hampshire .	1789	317,456	520	317,976	- -
Vermont . . .	1791	313,402	718	314,120	- -
Massachusetts . .	1789	985,704	8,795	994,499	- -
Rhode Island . .	1790	143,875	3,669	147,544	- -
Connecticut . .	1789	363,305	7,486	370,791	- -
Central.					
New York . . .	,,	3,049,457	47,937	3,097,394	- -
New Jersey . .	,,	465,523	23,807	489,330	* 2
Pennsylvania . .	,,	2,258,463	53,323	2,311,786	- -
Delaware . . .	,,	71,169	18,073	89,242	* 2,2
Southern.					
Maryland . . .	,,	417,943	74,723	492,666	90,3
Virginia	,,	895,304	93,829	989,133	472,5
North Carolina .	,,	553,118	27,373	580,491	288,4
South Carolina .	,,	274,623	8,900	283,523	384,9
Georgia	,,	521,438	2,880	524,318	381,6
Florida	1819	47,167	925	48,092	39,3
Alabama . . .	,,	426,486	2,293	428,779	342,8
Mississippi . . .	1817	295,758	899	296,657	309,8
Louisiana . . .	1812	255,416	17,537	272,953	244,7
Texas	1845	154,100	331	154,431	58,1

* The Slave population is now merely nominal (1861) in these t States, which adopted gradual abolition.

List of the United States, &c.—*continued.*

States.	Date admitted into Union.	White Population.	Free Coloured Population.	Total Free.	Slaves.
Western.					
rkansas . . .	1826	162,068	589	162,657	46,982
ennessee . . .	1796	756,893	6,271	763,164	239,461
entucky . . .	1792	761,688	9,736	771,424	210,981
issouri	1821	592,077	2,544	594,621	87,422
hio	1802	1,956,108	24,300	1,980,408	- -
ichigan . . .	1826	395,097	2,557	397,654	- -
diana	1816	977,628	10,788	988,416	- -
inois	1818	846,104	5,366	851,470	- -
isconsin . . .	1848	304,565	626	305,191	- -
wa	1845	191,879	335	192,214	- -
lifornia . . .	1850	91,632	965	92,597	- -
egon	1858	13,087	206	13,293	- -
nesota. . . .	1857	150,042	39	150,081	- -
Total .	. .	19,570,388	419,696	20,050,084	3,200,380
st. of Columbia*	- -	38,027	9,973	48,000	3,687
Territories.					
ah.	- -	11,330	24	11,354	26
w Mexico . .	- -	61,530	17	61,547	- -
shington	- -	10,000	- -	10,000	- -
nsas . . †	- -	36,000	- -	30,000	- -
braska .	- -	10,716	- -	10,716	- -
Total .	- -	19,737,991	429,710	20,221,701	3,204,093

* A District ceded for Federal Government by the States of Maryd and Virginia.

† Population estimated during 1856–7.

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OF 1860,

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The following is the aggregate of the last census, as furnished by the Secretary of the Interior, subject to final revision. The total population numbers 31,374,856, classified as follows:—

Free Population of the 33 States	27,112,000
Slaves in the same	3,878,000
People of the Territories (including Kansas)	384,856
Total	31,374,856
Increase in 10 years	8,183,782
Increase per annum	818,378
Per centage of increase in the decade	35

Eight States contain more than 1,000,000 inhabitants each. These are:—

	1860.	1850.
New York	3,827,000	3,097,394
Pennsylvania	2,913,441	2,311,786
Ohio	2,283,982	1,980,329
Illinois	1,789,496	851,470
Virginia	1,658,190	1,421,661
Indiana	1,347,000	988,416
Massachusetts	1,331,499	924,514
Georgia	1,075,977	906,185

Of these eight States only the fifth and last are slave-holding. During the last 10 years Illinois has overtaken the four States last on the list. In other respects their relative positions are unchanged since 1850.

Virginia, which in the census of 1790 occupied the first place, has gradually sunk to the fifth. The growth in population of three other north-western States is remarkable:—

	1860.	1850.
Michigan	749,969	397,654
Wisconsin	777,771	305,391
Iowa	676,435	192,214

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